The hair was cut (gumgsowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut. 302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ihṭ́pbeyṭ́gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored. 301 237

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin. 304 301 [756]

Necklaces (umiṭ́suk), bracelets (mṭ́liuyṭ́k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (dṭ́eliṭ́ṭ́gi dṭ́tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (pṭ́sumṭ́li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (unstrung) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish. 301 [237]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (tsṭ́chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama). 302 304 [531] [386]

The process of pricking the tsṭ́chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation. 302 [757] [177]

The red ochre (saweasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick, 302 386 [317]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsetaini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tegum), fish (stabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

361
311
[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317]
[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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226
[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	To	Ki	Ki	Ki	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Mo	Ki	Al
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tmavoi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tümuyumo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
500. Woodes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 2N1

508. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	°	+	+	°	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–
528. Storage in rock cranny	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	°	°	+	°	–	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	°	°	+	+	+	–	–	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	°	–	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
552. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]